

own compulsive concerns, like Papi, the Barnabas family. K. He can identify a reversal of emphasis within the "same" situation: in "Metamorphosis" it is the outside world which is heard to speculate on the possibility of some form of understanding with the inner self, in "The Burrow" it is the self which speculates: the "situational similarity" is pinpointed in the use of a subjunctive.

Other contrasts stand out more strikingly: on the one hand, the death sentence pronounced unambiguously by the objective power, understood and executed by the subject in "The Judgment"; on the other, the ambiguous sentence of *The Trial*, not understood by the subject and executed by objective force. Professor Sokol's method, moreover, is no less sensitive to questions of style than to questions of structure. Thus, he shows that the structural contrast between "The Judgment" and *The Trial* is further modified by the mode of narration. The earlier story makes the father-judge appear to be objectively right; the later novel makes the hero appear to be subjectively wrong. Kafka stands in a different relationship as author in each case to the vision that "a man" brings guilt upon himself. At first he accepted the objectivity of the guilt, which carried the consolation that his hero mattered to someone and the possibility of death as expiation. Later, he realized that the trial only took place if K. invoked it, that no court cared, and that death was a senseless beastliness. Of these abilities Professor Sokol is an instructive master, and he goes farther than earlier critics in his demonstration that Kafka's style should not be generalized about as a whole, but studied for its remarkable range between extremes of ironical objectivity and expressionist intensity. These and other critical categories enable the professor to claim that a new level of realism is achieved in *The Castle*, where above all Frieda represents the first glimpse of an independent human being, while the ironical treatment of, say, the messenger Barnabas, "apostle of the void," should be understood as limited to this figure

and not as a "representation of the total absurdity of all things". Professor Sokol's book seems to indicate that a study of structure independently of meaning is peculiarly appropriate to Kafka's work. This apparently happy correspondence of means to ends is liable, however, to make us overlook just how odd such a situation is. And indeed the disadvantage of Professor Sokol's approach is that he makes such good sense of Kafka's surreal dreams that their basic distortion does get overlooked. The coherence of the Professor's structure is reassuring and it rests conceptually on Nietzsche's philosophy the truth of which is not questioned nor its more demonic aspects ever referred to. Thus, Kafka's heroes are seen to be situated between opposing poles of power on the one hand and what Professor Sokol calls "the pure ego" on the other. This polarization has the effect of bringing into the same category some strange bedfellows: e.g. at the opposite pole from power, Kafka's self as a writer, the Petersburg friend of Georg Bendemann, the villager of *The Castle*. It also enables Professor Sokol to schematize the "alliance" which exists between the poles (to the detriment of the hero); for what is life but the coexistence of the Nietzschean opposites? Finally, the reliance on Nietzsche's concept appears to have prompted a Nietzschean value judgment. The hero, who is neither child nor father, neither official nor villager, neither pure artist nor man of the world, Professor Sokol regards and castigates as "the superficial self". It is the fault of this self that it is neither entirely emancipated into independent selfhood. Joseph K. is held to be at fault, "both because he trusts the court too much and because he does not trust it enough". The parable "Before the Law" is explained as the dream of a man who can neither embrace the law of life (and presumably be consumed in its terrible power) nor turn his back on it in independence. K. is supposed to realize how his own self-conscious efforts stand in the way of a spontaneous, humorous acceptance of

life, towards which his childlike "helpers" have been sent to help him. We are almost convinced, until we remember again the intolerable "life" that K. is considered to have lived against by his self-leaving resistance. Could he really have lived as a happy family man with his child helpers in some humble village capacity? The question can scarcely be asked without imagining a novel quite different from the one we have. And if Joseph K. had simply turned his back on it all? That would mean imagining no novel at all. The rule of criticism which warns us not to speculate about a book as though it were life applies with striking absoluteness to Kafka. For he went as far perhaps as it is possible to go towards writing not about the experience of life, in any communally shared sense, but about the experience of writing, or about life conceived as essentially an inner vision of the writer. Kafka's letters and diaries make painfully clear how his sense of guilt, of isolation, of an impossible and self-destructive enterprise was connected with the special relationship of art: both the inner relationship of the artist to the man and the outer relationship of the man to the world. He had found what he called the Archimedean point of absolute vision, but he could only use it, as he said, "against himself". He could see, as it were, the nightmare of the mind's total subjectivity from the outside. He could record it with supreme lucidity, but he could not reach into it, to release *in reality* the suffering subject that was himself. For this would have meant the end of the special relationship which was his life as an artist—and his death as a man. Moreover, in which direction should the release take place? Art offered to the man no reality in which to live, and life nothing but spiritual annihilation to eyes that longed only for vision.

Professor Sokol understands perfectly the structure of this dilemma. If we ask what it "means", then he points to the texts and shows how, say, Joseph K. or Josephine want incompatible things, and how incompatibility generally "operates" in Kafka's work between the deeper will of the

hero, as expressed in his actions and gestures, and his conscious rationalizations. Beyond this, Professor Sokol simply assumes that Kafka is dealing with the potential tragedy of man's individuality in a world of this, and that he can therefore be compared to Sophocles or Shakespeare. Again, the influence of Nietzsche is apparent in this assumption; but it points in a direction that Professor Sokol perhaps neither realizes nor intends. Leaving aside the question of how adequate Nietzsche's theory of tragedy is to explain any known play, it may be recalled that *The Birth of Tragedy* offers an explicitly aesthetic philosophy: the world is represented as having an meaning other than that provided for it by art. That this view involved Nietzsche in the destruction of all other forms of meaning is not hard to understand. That a tendency towards nihilism may readily, and perhaps most consistently, accompany a belief in pure art ought then to be the lesson that we learn from Nietzsche.

Professor Sokol seems to follow the tendency intuitively, but without making clear where it leads. For instance, he has this to say about the hero's death in "The Judgment": [There is] a level of meaning which could be considered psycho-analytically to be masochism, the desire for suffering, punishment, and self-punishment. Morally, it could be described as a desire to atone for the crime of rebellion. Metaphysically, it is the longing to extinguish individuality and be reunited with the oneness of being. Mythologically, it is the offering up of the sacrificial animal: from a Christian standpoint, the expiation in death of the soul's original sin, the "to above all of self-seeking". Finally, from the standpoint of existentialist philosophy, this level of meaning shows the impulse towards self-destruction felt by an existence which has never gone beyond the conventional and alienated person to realize a true self.

The reader gasps. What kind of story is this in which the noblest morality may be sheer perversion, a pagan superstition may have Christian significance, and the highest morality be the same thing as spiritual failure? But in a sense Professor Sokol is right. Just this kind of uncertainty may represent Kafka's unconventional achievement. Or rather: his achievement may lie in his having discovered the possibility of escaping from the convention of realistic meaning altogether. Like a painter who has realized that the art lies, after all, on the surface of the canvas, Kafka has rendered the illusion of all such profundities as are quoted above, the illusion that there is really some spiritual significance in the world, as a pure aesthetic surface. We would miss the point of his work if we tried to discover what conventional meaning it still showed the world to possess (as though the castle were meant to be heaven). We would be simple-minded if we discussed whether or not many meanings could co-exist "in reality" (as though Placido's shapes and colours could be found in nature). What does the metamorphosis of the hero into a beetle mean? It means that the description of how a dun is opened—and it is with the rendering of such commonplace subjects that most of Kafka's pages are concerned—acquires a stylistic intensity that no realistic novel could any longer hope to achieve.

More appropriate than the analogy to Shakespeare is Professor Sokol's acceptance of the term "expressionist" for Kafka's style, for it has associations with the avant-garde painting of the time—though perhaps superficially with the wrong school. Kafka's style has more of the studied complexity of analytical cubism than it has of the lyricalism of, say, Marc or Nolde. Most appropriate of all, of course, is Professor Sokol's method of structural analysis. For this is the academic child of that same aesthetic doctrine to whose works it so successfully addresses itself. As he reviews the manifold levels of meaning, Professor Sokol, cautiously expresses himself in the conditional, and he has commonsense reservations to make elsewhere about all other interpretations of Kafka: religious, psychological, or social: none of them, he sees, will entirely fit. His tendency nevertheless to use fragments of all of them must seem bewildering to anyone who seeks an old-fashioned answer to the question: what does Kafka's art represent? Professor Sokol's intellectual collage matches Kafka's artistic technique. What appears on the fictional canvas,

father, or the superior but uncertain, or the Klee-like, is no longer anything but a pure visionary reality. Kafka always applied to natural life and to the time would be seen to be clearly, a nothingness, a movement entirely in fact this way, deal some became, in the telling, a "secret game", and a real suffering, a perfect beautiful.

Thus, Professor Sokol is right to conclude his study with the observation that Kafka's work is a thing different from any other. "All these interpretations," he writes, "but which art presents no message, no precision and concrete presence. It is the new truth on teaching which has nothing to teach but the world's departed meanings, expressed. Those which, in doctors as in those of the castle, are being every conceivable line of western literature, modern culture, do not present any particular view of a Being scrupulously schooled not accustomed to being by any such personal as their heart of hearts by perhaps quite like, approached by someone to know, like K., "the position here?" But, like didate will probably be sleep before they can deeply begin their journey not expect any ultimate such an official source. The official mind of the world possesses, or is, is the self-perpetuating knowledge, of knowledge, and interpreted interpretations, a proclamation lies in the strength organization. In the "nepotism" and is "Anyo who tries to sonally to find out what is supposed to mean is himself as baffled as a uoetheic education model. principle is so widely as humanistically beneficial that, as Kafka's schoolmates, had better not be

because it cannot break the bonds between its medium (language) and reality: it can only distort them. The result of pursuing possibilities of aesthetic speculation and analysis independently of any controlling model is, in the case of a work of fiction, to distort experience into the appearance of fantasy, or a kind of waking dream. No critic can here overlook the structural similarity to Freud's description of our psychic condition. Professor Sokol points to many instructive parallels, but seems to forget what kind of art he is dealing with, and talks as though Kafka's novel were "nihil" neurotic behaviour. Does it make sense, however, to suppose that Joseph K. is neurotically "guilty", or K. neurotically "aggressive", if the perspective of the novels makes it impossible to distinguish between a sick reaction and a healthy one? Nor should we think of Kafka himself as neurotic, when he could render every possible nuance of his relationship to his father with such extraordinary lucidity. Self-knowledge was the means to health for Freud: for Kafka it was the very medium of his "sickness", that is, of his alienation from reality, the condition of his art.

The similarity between Kafka's aesthetic adventure and Freud's account of neurotic fantasy is structural rather than literal. Kafka's interest in psychology was the reverse of Freud's: he saw in it a way of exploring not the objective determinants of the mind, but the total subjectivity of all meaning. Freud accepted a practical norm by which to distinguish neurotic fantasy from reality. He could thus recognize the fantasies of neurotics to be, as he said, no more than "experiences" of a kind or moral or religious response. True, in his later work he began to ponder, rather vaguely, on the philosophical implications of his method. Might we not all be neurotic, might not our culture be a kind of fantasy? It is a paradoxical speculation, for there is no scientific way in which we could know this. But it would seem that just this paradox, just this possibility of pursuing the unreality of all our responses despite the absence of any recognizable

norm, indeed by virtue of this absence, is what fascinated Kafka. Thus, he does not give to the experience merely of particular characters the distortion of fantasy; even in "America" it is difficult to see the "realistic framework" to which Jürg Thalmann points in *Wege zu Kafka*. It is rather the whole medium of existence which, in his work, appears distorted and fantastical. Living itself seems to have assumed the shape of some dreadful caricature.

Where then does the distortion lie, in the medium of Kafka's art or in the condition of existence? Do his words distort the world or do they reflect a distorted world? This remains the most bothersome question of Kafka interpretation, and the customary answer has been to assume that his fiction in some way represents the experience of modern Europeans, who have felt alienated from society, from their true selves, from the truth. It is time that this answer be reconsidered. We need to remind ourselves that what Kafka is writing about has no recognizable existence outside his work. However fearful the calamities of the age, these are not what his writing symbolizes. He rather destroys the symbolic meaning of language, just as his contemporaries in the plastic arts were destroying the representational significance of their media. Certainly, it was more difficult to free language from its entanglement with the real and still use it artistically. For the painter the way forward towards abstract creation was relatively unambiguous. Kafka's problem presented difficulties whose complexity, reflected most fully in his diaries, resembled those of analytical philosophy. He sounds strangely like Wittgenstein when he says, for instance, as reported by Janouch: "Accident and chance only exist in our head, in our limited perception. They are the reflections of the limits of our knowledge. The fight against accident and chance is always a fight against ourselves, which we can never entirely win. Accident and chance here symbolize for Kafka the imaginative illusion of life on which conventionally, the romance of fiction has been based, i.e., its plot and apparently lifelike occurrences. Modern philosophy

has combated the similar illusion that experience contains problems of understanding, which are really misformulations due to the limitations of language. Psychology has combated the limits of consciousness to show that there are no mere accidents in dreams or daily life. Abstract art similarly breaks away from the merely accidental features of reality to celebrate the sole necessity of art. The "fight" of which Kafka speaks is, then, not so much what *The Castle* is about as what Kafka's fiction is. The fact that language can only represent the "light" by means of an image, so that it looks like some sort of objective struggle against an opponent, is in itself an accident of language. Just so does K. misapprehend the situation he finds himself in. To explore this misapprehension is the only (but endless) task left for an artistic imagination whose medium is language. For language ingeniously fabricates more and more misapprehensions as it busies itself with the task of clearing them away. The only certainty it can achieve is negative, the certainty of that "defeat" in which so many of Kafka's narratives end. The defeat of the spirit in our time? No, this is not an acceptable reading of Kafka's fiction. The only "spirit" which could be said to be defeated here is, in general terms, Kafka's own, or more particularly that abstraction of himself he called K., the subject of his aesthetic experiment. Moreover, the "defeat" of K. was in fact a triumphant achievement of Kafka's art. His art may perhaps offer a lesson in the necessary paradoxes of extreme aesthetic vision entirely independent of any illusion of participation in reality, which has led to ever greater abstraction in art. It is possible also that the structure of Kafka's paradoxes may seem applicable to other aspects of modern thought: not experience, even to the practice of literary analysis, which can also appear "Kafkaesque". But the lesson is only instructive if we remember the point of view which alone makes it possible. It is the viewpoint of the aesthete who can enjoy the paradoxes of abstraction for their own sake.

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RUSSIAN PORTRAITS

YURI ANNENKOV: *Dnevnik molikh vstrech (People and Portraits: A Tragic Cycle)*. Vol. I: 335pp. Vol. II: 347pp. New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates. Dist. by A. Nelmanis, Munich. 25s. each.

Yuri Annenkov, now nearly eighty, and living in Paris since 1924, has had an interesting life. Already well known before the Revolution as a portrait painter, cartoonist, stage designer and illustrator of books, he became famous in 1918 as the illustrator of Alexander Blok's most celebrated revolutionary poem *The Twelve*. During the first few years of the Soviet regime he was highly favoured by the authorities. He suffered no hardships during the famine and became one of the Court Painters of the Kremlin. In this book he describes his meetings and conversations with Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev, all of whom were among his sitters. He has little new to say about Lenin, but speaks with some admiration of Trotsky, who struck him as a real intellectual, with a keen appreciation of poetry and literature, and who was an ardent admirer of that "permanent revolutionary", Placido. Even Zinoviev is made out to be rather a good fellow, who would go all sentimental about Paris and the Latin Quarter, and who once even blurted out: "The Revolution, the Internationalist, great still that, but if it ever upsets Paris, I'll hurt his ears."

After Lenin's death Annenkov was commissioned to design portraits of Lenin for postage stamps and book covers. However, soon afterwards he went abroad, and never returned to Russia. To him the "romantic" phase of the Revolution was over, and although socialist realism had not yet been proclaimed the official literary and artistic dogma, he felt that the Party's stranglehold on the artist and writer was becoming increasingly intolerable. Although some of Annenkov's drawings (e.g. his portrait of Zinoviev) are perfectly aesthetically sound, he has a preference for the mildly cubist and constructivist style of which his drawing of Trotsky, also reproduced in this volume, is a good example.

Mr. Annenkov was a good mixer; and there is hardly a Russian writer,

artist or theatrical producer around 1920 whom he did not count among his friends—or at least acquaintances. He even lists the numerous celebrities, among them Alexei Tolstoy and Mayakovsky, with whom he was on terms of *intimité*. But his reminiscences are bitter and angry. Without giving credit to the Soviet system for anything, not even for the victory over Nazi Germany, he represents it as a monstrous machine for killing all genuine artistic and literary talent and initiative. Nearly all his stories are of martyrdom. Guniel was shot; Pinsky, Babel and Meyerhold perished in the purges; Khlebnikov died of starvation; Mayakovsky and Esenin committed suicide; Blok died of undernourishment and disengagement; Renizov and Zamyatin died in exile; Zoshchenko, Akhmatova and Pasternak suffered severe persecution. The chapters on Meyerhold and Blok, both of whom were close friends of Mr. Annenkov, are among the best and most tragic.

The "survivors" such as Ehrenburg and Alexei Tolstoy are treated with bitterness and contempt. To Mr. Annenkov, Ehrenburg is the regime's salesman whose job it is to strike during liberal attitudes abroad, and to convince the outside world that the regime is not as bad as it is—which is scarcely a fair picture of a man who has himself been badly ill-treated at times. Alexei Tolstoy, the Soviet count, is shown here as the complete cynic who, during a visit to Paris, said to Annenkov:

I am simply a cynic: I don't give a damn about anything. I am an ordinary mortal who wants to live, and live well. My writing? I don't give a damn about that either. . . . My first version of *Peter the First* was turned down. It's because, while I was writing it, the Father of the People [Stalin] discovered that Peter was a "proletarian hero", and a forerunner of our Great Joseph. Now I am doing a new version which, I am sure, will

please Joseph. I don't give a damn: I'll write whatever is wanted. If he wants Ivan the Terrible and Rasputin rehabilitated, and turned into learned Marxists, I don't care. I even find these academics rather amusing.

The trouble with some of Mr. Annenkov's stories is that one can never be quite sure what is fact and what is fiction. This harrange, delivered by Alexei Tolstoy in a Paris eight-club, though not wholly out of character, seems a bit exaggerated all the same.

Nor is this account of the author's last meeting with Mayakovsky in Nice in 1929 altogether convincing: "I am returning in Moscow," Mayakovsky said, "because I have stopped being a poet."

And then a truly dramatic thing happened. Mayakovsky burst into sob and wept, almost inaudibly: "I am now a government official."

The girl serving us, frightened by the sobbing, came running up to ask what was the matter. Mayakovsky turned to her and said in Russian, with a cruel smile: "Nothing, nothing. I just choked at a bone."

True, Mayakovsky committed suicide a year later; but is there not here a certain confusion between reporting and retrospective thought-reporting?

In another chapter Mr. Annenkov deals with the persecution of Pasternak in connection with the Nobel Prize award. In quoting the poet's letter to Mr. Khrushchev in which he wrote that his expulsion from Russia "would be equal to death," Mr. Annenkov says that Pasternak was made to sign this letter, and that nothing would have pleased him better than to be expelled to France or Italy. This is to misunderstand the true character of Pasternak and his Akhmatova-like devotion to the Russian earth. The fact that Pasternak had loved Venice and had commented a little ironically on the finest churches and towers of the Kremlin having been built by Italian architects is surely wholly irrelevant in the tragic context of 1958.

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METHUEN

[illegible]

ALL THE WAY WITH J.F.K.

PIERRE SALINGEN : *With Kennedy*. 391 pp. Cope. 36s

London: Oxford University Press, 1993.

the frontnotes to this volume must record artist, patron, place and date of the work. In the centenary of the occupation of Rome, no attempt has yet been made to identify his early papal Italy, apart from the study of him of one drawing after Raphael's "Last Judgment". Spain his only documented work, like Hermitage he was claimed to be the fresco in the S. E. of the Prado. Post doubts his restorations to him the "Flagellation" the same gallery. He was also described as "persuasive" and "harmless" for occupying the title of the illustrations of the title pages of the *Storie* of the Italian editions of Vasari on anatomy.

The influence of the sixteenth-century Renaissance introduced Italian-trained artists and was visited Italy, and the great Italian painters to the East did not affect all Castilian painters there were still some who

Post's account is largely dependent on the work of other scholars, but a brilliant review of this work enables him to make several new and valuable contributions. The treatment of Alonso Berruguete is a case in point. In recent years Berruguete has been known as a sculptor than as a painter, and this volume confirms the designs for the high altar of San Domingo el Antiguo were set aside in favour of El Greco's work. The rustic Italianism of Berruguete's paintings and those of most of the artists of the School of Toledo illustrated in this volume make it easy to imagine the impression of singularism and genius El Greco must have created.

ated the Hispanic Renaissance influence may still limited for the most part rather than content and even the Hispanic artists seldom classical subjects. Recent illustrating the Persian rare exceptions. Examples traiture are also scarce in though it would have been a new development in court in the later Renaissance the author lived to convey with chapters on Simoes and Pantojo.

In the thirty-seven years passed since the first three were published in 1938, Pust's *History of Spanish* has become a monument to until a byword with Spanish

canal. There were eminent Washingtonians who went in for the un-American activity of walking, such as Justice Douglas, but the thought of Pierre Salinger, who was not known to have ever walked farther than from the White House to the Hay-Adams House, walking with his colleagues along the canal was too terrible to contemplate. He wriggled out of it under the saturnally relieving eyes of the press corps. Attorney General Robert Kennedy took his brother's challenge seriously and, of course, walked the fifty miles with the family mule.

It was epicurean, like *les plats*, the famous cypres, the famous taste for real food that what Americans call "gourmet meals" that made Mr. Salinger probably the most popular member of the White House staff. He did not diet, keep fit, worry about his waist line, consult an analyst. His

away what had been done or to prepare, in advance, for the breaking of the news of what was to be done. It was an important role in which, usually, Mr. Salinger was successful (he does not conceal some failures), but this is a book of a witness and not always of a fully informed witness.

The office Mr. Salinger held has no precise British parallel. We have no presidential press conferences; we have Official Secrets Acts and D notices; we have a small number of newspapers and limited radio and television coverage. But in America the press, and its rival, television, are really a Fourth Estate. The Press Secretary is a very important public official. Here, no amount of publicity on television or in *Private Eye* can make the equivalent officer newsworthy, if only because there is no equivalent. So the choice Senator Kennedy made of Pierre Salinger as Press Secretary was a very important

It was his consciousness of his limitations that made Mr. Salinger such a success as Press Secretary. The press knew that he was not "in" as Mr. Flagerty had been. Some commented rather sourly on his limited knowledge of Washington and his limited press experience, but he soon became a popular figure and an object of kindly interest to the American public. The stories that circulated about Mr. Salinger were not like those that had circulated about Mr. Flagerty, much admired as Mr. Flagerty had been and infinitely helpful as he was to his successor. It would be idle to ignore the fact that Mr. Salinger was and is fat and in him there was no thin man struggling to get out. The highly comic story of "Salinger's Eddy" is told with great gusto and it illuminates Mr. Salinger under the Kennedy administration. Relying on a precedent set by Theodore Roosevelt, President Kennedy, a natural athlete (terribly handicapped by

Then Mr. Salinger had to succeed, as he confesses, a very remarkable Press Secretary indeed, Mr. James Hagerty. As Mr. Salinger tells us, Jim Hagerty was an actor as well as

tastes also qualify him to cut down in size the slunder that Mrs. Kennedy lured away the French ambassador in London's cook (for this was the form that the legend took). But she *did* import a French cook into the White House (he is no longer employed there).

This social side of Mr. Salinger's duties was not a minor matter. Mrs. Kennedy was the most dazzling occupant of the White House since Dolly Madison. Her dealings with the press were politically important, if only because it was suspected that she did not care much for politics and, especially, for its compulsory social life. Congressional wives were not her kind of good company. She might think it a triumph to get Casals to play in the White House, but that dined the administration not good "on the Hill" or in Polak. Equally serious was Mrs. Kennedy's attempt to keep her private life private, to treat "the Mansion," the inner residential core of the White House complex, as a private house, not as a fish bowl. In this Mrs. Kennedy had some success.

But she had none when she tried to keep the female reporters, the newshens, out of White House

dropping, taking notes, huttonholing guests, making a private party a public event. After what the Secretary of State called an "exhilarating" confirmation, Mrs. Kennedy had to surrender.

The White House is a court and in a court stories of this kind are not matters of no moment. But Mrs. Kennedy's difficulties with the press were a paradigm of her husband's. President Kennedy was much more at home with the press than his predecessor had been and his press preferences were more successful, but he annoyed the press by admitting television reporters despite all the technical difficulties involved and the opportunities the operation gave to the camera hogs.

Yet a more serious problem, now solved, is the degree of permissible evasion which may be called for "in the national interest." The

disaster of the Bay of Pigs, following the lesser disaster of the U2 in 1960, accumulated press suspicion of "cover stories". So when the great Cuban crisis broke in 1962, the press and the administration were set on collision courses. It was as impossible to conceal the massive build-up at Norfolk (which as it had been impossible to conceal the build-up at Portsmouth) in 1956. It was discovered, heliely, that not to congressmen called in for highly confidential briefing can be trusted to pass up the publicity possibilities, as Representative Van Zandt (Rep. Penna.) proved. Yet some evasion *had* to be practised, since it was a basic principle of President Kennedy not to make the Russians look foolish. This meant not permitting reporters on the blockading ships which might, among other things, report the ghastly discomfiture of the Reds". An unfortunate slip by an important press officer gave rise to a charge of "news management" and perhaps the lie became the truth, the present "credibility gap" appeared in the Kennedy administration. The problem is a real one, not a trick: "Boston has recently

argued in his Ross lectures. A government can't think, sincerely, that "toute vérité n'est pas bonne à dire" but no American reporter or "publisher", i.e. propagandist, can accept so crippling a principle.

Some of the confusion could, perhaps, have been avoided. Thus the American press was denied the use of the photographs of the missiles which had already been published in Europe. We are told that "the military editor of the prestigious *Times* of London wrote a front-page story in which he called the pictures "a complete fabrication". In fact the Defense Secretary told *The Times* that no more than report that military experts in London were expressing some marginal doubts about whether the photographs really proved the presence of missiles. Mr. Salinger does not conceal his own errors or ignore gently the errors of others. He does not conceal the fact that President Kennedy nute than once thought himself forced to "Lever le tete" of his Press Secretary. Mr. Salinger does not exaggerate his role, but in his dealings with the Russians he played an important part which is more fully described here than it has been before. We learn of the secrecy in which the role of that most patriotic newsmen, Mr. John A. Scali, was shrouded, for Mr. Scali with heroic abnegation sacrificed the greatest "exclusive" in modern American history to serve his country and peace. No Van Zandt he!

Mr. Salinger deals briefly with his political career in his native state of California. He was successfully attacked as a "carpetbagger". He was in vain that Mr. Salinger recalled to himself that his "Irish grandfather had been on the Territory of Belford" but yet represented Brest. The keener of California by Hollywood had in Mr. Salinger, its first victim. In this world of "images" this most entertaining and honest book has a special worth: it is a valuable document for the inner history of the brief Kennedy admin-

Weidenfeld & Nicolson

to this, particularly from Italian historians, because of Vasari's references to his presence in Florence or Rome. Past rejects most of the attributions in him of paintings made in Italy, which are based on little stylistic evidence, as he does Professor Longhi's theory that Herrmann influenced the mannerist development of Panofsky and Rissso, who reduces the artist's Spanish paintings to a small but coherent group. (Account has been taken,

Edited by Jack Weinstrip. 188pp.

expense might conceivably have been used for an English version. As it stands, certain features present a stumbling-block to the reader who wishes to make use of the musical examples. These are consigned in the end of the essay, and consist of 1 un-numbered example on page 66 and five numbered ones on pages 67-73. Unfortunately the three different sets of numbers beginning on page 67 (where the words *Pax et Nostra* should read *Passcha nostram*) are insufficiently differentiated in the regards type. The figure 1 of the end of the page refers to Music Exam-

No. 1; the next batch of figures refers to column 4. of the *Tabellae* (pages 62-65): the remark "Ad Nr.3 presumably a note from author or editor, requesting that the two *Abkündigung* . . . should be placed above the relevant music example, below II. The following series 1, 2, 3, 2; and the explanation that the final 2 should appear. Music Example No. 2, just above Nos "1. Primus scholae: . . ." Of this puzzle has been solved, the text is easy.

The section dealing with opus offers some new and welcome material, on byways and highways beginning with a letter of Mhovevo concerning his intermezzo on the subject of Dido and Aeneas; performed at Parma in 1628, a good sixty years before Purcell's opera. Drago Cveklo of Lublana and Heinrich Federhofer of Mainz explore respectively the work of the Bononi and Vercelli. "Stanza

silence may have been spheres. Hans F. Redlich, Chester, with elegant, perceptive melodic relationship on aria in Spontini's slow movement from the *Quintet*, and Offenbach's *Hoffmann*; but what does he do with Wagner's not clear. Jack Westrup devoted to the divergent editions of Bizet's *Les Perles*, suffers a little in the programme-note phraseology: "fortissimo" means "bones", but is otherwise good. The one really valuable essay, however, is Gerald Steady of the opera at the Serof, a little-known composer whose first extant stage date from 1863, and high time for a complete of the stage works of Edgar

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HESITATIONS OF THE HUMAN

at her best moments (in "Suckskin on a Tale"), for example, despite an unfortunate last line Miss Wright is both moving and penetrating in an unobtrusive way.

AMS GRAIN

Alman Carlos Williams Reader. 412pp.

in which we have so far had his works. As yet, although there is the *Collected Later Poems*, we have still to wait for the *Collected Early Poems*, and the same goes for his substantial prose work. In the *American Grain*, Shall we ever see the whole of the even earlier *Great American Novel* or the fascinating prose accompaniment to *Spring and All*?

The tantalizing extracts from these printed by M. L. Rosenthal will more than whet a reader's appetite and exasperation. Professor Rosenthal has not had an easy job: there is so much to choose from. The poems here are justly representative. He has omitted the letters, but he gives us a wide-ranging look at the fiction and "other prose". Perhaps no choice could have been perfect. Here, there are no *Phonies* from Brauerel pueris, only *Book One of Asphodel*, no *Desert Music*, merely the first scene of the first act from Williams's three-act play, *A Dream of Love*. This last—though the extract makes little sense on its own—is no real loss, for Williams's plays are never his more embarrassing productions. Perhaps the scene could have been left out altogether and then we could have had *The Destruction of Tenochtitlan* without which no selection from *In the American Grain* can be

The American edition of this book, not last year, carried on its jacket a photograph of Williams frowning into the sun. Not at all the genial old man of the later pictures, but, from the set of the head to the corrugations of the unzipped windcheater, very much like who once replied to the protesting European in *The Great American Novel*: "As far as I have gone, it is accurate". Williams was tough and tender—more than a bit sentimental in fact. Or perhaps Lawrence takes his measure more justly in that review of *In the American Grain* where he speaks of the need Williams insisted for "supreme seriousness, delicacy, and at the same time an infinitely tempered resistance". That was the best Williams was for many a year in England. His appearance in Pound's *Active Anthology* brought from Lawrence's principal defender the observation that all this was fifteen years out of date, a too late reaction against "the worldly debility of Georgianism". Of course, that was a long time ago, but only the other day we were being told by a front-line critic about "Williams' poetry of red brick houses, suburban wives, cheerful standardized interiors". Williams earned the right to that frown.

At this point, Williams is decidedly "in" and, for good or ill, has replaced Eliot in the affections of younger readers. But one of the results of the long delay (the news that a British publisher would take his poems came two days after his death) seems to be the odd order

in which we have so far had his works. As yet, although there is the *Collected Later Poems*, we have still to wait for the *Collected Early Poems*, and the same goes for his first substantial prose work, *In the American Grain*. Shall we ever see the whole of the even earlier *Great American Novel* or the fascinating prose accompaniment to *Spring and All*?

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THE EMPEROR'S STEPSON

CAROLA OMAN: *Napoleon's Viceroy*. Eugène de Beauharnais. 528pp. Hodder and Stoughton. £2 10s.

Eugène de Beauharnais was by no means the least important or least attractive of his stepfather's lieutenants, yet he has been oddly neglected by historians. One workmanlike study in German was the sole predecessor of the present full-length biography.

Miss Oman is excessively sparing in her references in modern scholars and does not, for instance, mention E. L. Knapton's excellent *Empress Josephine*, which her readers would certainly enjoy. But she does draw on an immense range of earlier historical work and printed contemporary sources and she has a sound judgment of their varied value as evidence. As a result she makes few mistakes and those that have slipped through are relatively trivial: Napoleon did not begin to sign himself with that name before the Empire; Rapp was never a marshal, and Madame la Maréchale Ney was not yet a widow in 1814. A more serious flaw in the book is the absence of good maps, at least of the Kingdom of Italy and the Russian campaign, which will be sorely felt by those not already well versed in the history of the period. The endpaper map of Europe in 1815 is not particularly relevant and is grossly inaccurate.

The portrait we are given is of a wholly upright man, a loyal son and brother, a devoted husband and father, a keeper of his word and of the path of duty and honour. He seems too good to be true; but Miss Oman does not overstate the case, and his moral excellence rather than his obedient role as the "perpetual apprentice" may be the real reason why Eugène often seems rather dull. Some of the decisions he had to make were not easy, particularly after Napoleon's divorce and after his father-in-law joined the Allies. But the few who criticized his conduct were palpably interested and he deservedly gained the respect and affection of both friend and enemy. His great ambition was the throne of Italy, which Napoleon never

gave him; yet he twice honourably refused it when it was offered by the Allies. He was a brave and capable, if hardly inspired, soldier, who fought gallantly during the retreat and whose services after the supreme command of the Grand Army devolved upon his shoulders deserve to be better known. He was also a builder and planter whose scale and taste lay nicely between those of his mother and her husband.

All these aspects of the man Miss Oman presents fully and vividly, though she seems a little more at ease—or at least clearer—on social than on military topics. But, in view of the title of her book, it is odd that she fails to mention the most important part of his career. As Viceroy of Italy from 1805 to 1813 Eugène had to grapple with a host of difficult political and administrative problems and it is here almost alone that he left any mark on later history. The fact that in this sphere Napoleon kept him on a tight rein does not make his work less important; it means only that the correspondence between them shows clearly what Eugène's problems were, while it also illuminates Napoleon's aims and methods. Some part of this correspondence is unpublished and widely scattered, but most of it is readily available. The omission detracts seriously from an otherwise useful and enjoyable study of a man who has become, through the present Consort, the ancestor of future generations of the British Royal Family.

Editori Laterza, Bari, have published a book of essays by Delio Cantimori *Concettando di storia*, in their series "Biblioteca di cultura moderna". The essays were written for the Genoese journal *l'Unità* between 1960 and 1964, and they deal with a wide range of historical topics, including the history of religion, which was Cantimori's subject.

CHINESE CHRISTIAN SOLDIER

JAMES E. SHERIDAN: *Chinese Warrior*. The Career of Feng Yih-shiang. London: Oxford University Press. 64.

A foreign visitor to China in 1919 who came upon soldiers lustily singing "Stand up, stand up for Jesus" or "Onward, Christian soldiers" would naturally have chalked this up as a prize won by missionary endeavour in China. Since converts per capita had never shown much of a return for the missionary investment, a warrior Christian was really something. How could there be anything shallow or false about the soldier of Christ who trained his troops in this way? Besides the well-known evangelical hymns, the men could be heard singing "We must not drink or smoke" and "We must not gamble or visit women"—both of them lyrics written by their commander, Feng Yih-shiang.

Feng was the son of an illiterate peasant who had joined Li Hung-chang's Hui army in the 1870s. He was no fake. He was a determined and ambitious man who lived through the period of China's greatest confusion—a cultural confusion between Chinese tradition and the compelling magnetism of the West and a political confusion between the dying Ch'ing dynasty and China's fumbling attempts to evolve a substitute for the old imperial centre of authority. Mr. Sheridan has done a service in disentangling Feng's career from this muddled interregnum of China's modern history. It is not an easy task to pick out the Christian and the warrior and judge both; but Mr. Sheridan succeeds very well in presenting Feng's motives, some worthy and some less worthy, having aspirations, yet no less accepting the values of his day.

One could not pick out a more revealing figure than Feng through whom to illuminate what Mr. Sheridan suggests was the decade of pure warlordism—the ten years from Yuan Shih-kai's death in 1916 to the beginning of the Kungmin's northern expedition. His study is especially good at one end of Feng's career, tracing his rise to power in the early republican period, and at the other end, in showing how Feng's political aspirations were not

retained enough to face the challenge of Chiang Kai-shek. Once he had acquired the label of the "Christian General", Feng's reputation became absurdly inflated in foreign circles. Not surprisingly, foreigners grasped at the straw of honesty and efficiency that came to the surface on China's murky waters. Later the denigration of Feng was scarcely less extreme. Feng was not unique among warlords, even in his moral fervour. He lacked the classical Chinese education of his opponent Wu Peifu. In the last he remained a peasant, unselfconsciously Confucian in his outlook. For all that, his Christianity was self-acquired, and up to a point sincere; but it was a doctrine to be put to use, not a faith that transformed Feng's life. To Feng its real purpose was to give a moral backing that would make good soldiers. Besides that, Mr. Sheridan shrewdly observes, it gave Feng a potentially antagonistic link with the expanding political and military power of the West in China, but this was a calculated asset, not a move towards any western basis of thinking.

Feng was a genuine nationalist and a no less genuine warrior, accepting the struggle for power with all its unprincipled and devious shifts. He could talk with all honesty about the "people" while taxing peasants into penury like any other of his kind. He was not an oddity as a Christian. He would probably not have become a Christian at all had he been born ten years or so later. His stern moral code was not exceptional or un-Chinese; one sees the same zealous attachment in Mao Tse-tung, his junior by nine years.

After 1927 Feng's nationalism diluted his Christian spirit. He had reacted as strongly as any other Chinese in the May, 1925, incident in Shanghai, when police under British command fired on Chinese strikers. Thereafter his anti-imperialism matched anything to be found in the Kuomintang. It was not only Feng's shrewd judgment that made him come to terms with Chiang Kai-shek; he was progressively enough to want an unified China but not politically agile enough to

find a place in it for his power he had built up in the north. Oddly enough, Li Tse-shan, second wife, Li Tse-shan, called and a Christian, was to become Communist. The Minister of Health thought that she has not such a trivial religious of a resolution.

Feng first made his name as a pacification commissioner in Changlu, Hunan province. He was appointed military governor in 1920 but was ousted by a warlord career and ended with the pattern of a discredited and useful ally, forgetting the central independence through which Feng's most dramatic coup in Peking in 1924 evicted the abdicated Pao-yi. He retired in the Peking "Great White" and the end of the Japanese sponsored.

Later, it was the Rockefeller interest in Feng; took over in the north-west. Eventually Feng had to Kuomintang, choosing Chiang Kai-shek rather than the Wang faction. The way in which he managed and the final fall illuminates Chiang Kai-shek's way of doing things. Chiang lived too long in a war zone where ever to see how a man should have been built. He was an ambitious and a Chinese nationalist, only rejected the techniques of easy faction; the faction quickly survived, with independence barely denied. The warlord went on, even surviving the Japanese. It was left to Mao to clear up those who were finding them to be true and the national bourgeoisie and emancipated them. Feng had long since left his dying in a shipboard fire at sea in 1948, on the eve of the communist conquest.

GETTING AND SPENDING

JULIE ANEL: *The Rockefeller Millions*. 386pp. Frederick Muller. 35s. LUCIUS BEEBE: *The Big Spenders*. 404pp. Hutchinson. 50s.

Sixty years ago there were said to be three invincible forces in the world: the Vatican, the German army and Standard Oil. Today Standard Oil has been fragmented, the German army twice defeated and even the Vatican has shown signs of coming to terms with its competitors. Mr. Abel's book on the Rockefeller fortune is a useful guide to the least well-documented of the three, and is valuable in that it deals without partisanship with an emotive and at one time highly controversial subject. The author puts a minimum estimate of \$4,000,000 on the oil worth of the Rockefeller fortune today; even 1 per cent of this would have made the mouths of Mr. Lucius Beebe's heroes water.

Oil was considered a nuisance in Ohio in the first half of the last century. It fouled the streams so the cattle could not drink, and when carried on to pastures it ruined the grazing land. In 1859, when Rockefeller was twenty years old and a rising young bookkeeper in a small merchandising business in Cleveland, the first oil-well was drilled not far from where he lived and worked. Oil was a get-rich-quick business; if a man did not double his capital in a year he was a failure, and this applied equally to producing and refining. Rockefeller's initial investment in oil was \$4,000 in 1863. By 1868 he was a rich man with a large house, a distinguished wife and, surprising as it may sound, a stable of trotting horses.

His partner was an expert in refining, he himself did the dealing, the jobber was out and very soon he was making barrels too. It was easy combining with the refiners and by 1866 he had his own company in New York handling oil sales. Mr. Abel comments: "Because Rockefeller was able to combine refiners and producers were unable to combine among themselves he earned their undying hatred." Later a competitor of his testified to the success of the Standard Oil Company is transportation. (Standard Oil was reorganized as a corporation in January, 1870, with a paid-up capital of \$1m, which shows the rate of growth.) Originally oil was transported to the

railroads, loaded on wagons and hauled there by crews of bay teamsters. These appear to have been about as savage a crew as even the present times could produce; they terrorized the countryside and they made more money than the well-worshippers. Of course they could not stand up to the Rockefeller man with a notebook more than a match for the titanic with the black snake-whip. He shed his refineries beside the growing railroads and with a little judicious corruption he made his own terms with them. Not only did he collect a rebate on every barrel of oil he shipped, he inflicted a drawback on every barrel shipped by his competitors. It was the same story with the introduction of pipe lines; Standard's competitors simply could not live with the preferential rates the company enjoyed and the imports with which they were burdened. The Standard Oil Trust was capitalized at a modest \$70m. In 1882, by 1890 it was earning \$22m. annually. If Rockefeller's share was a quarter, and all this before the influence of the automobile had begun to make itself felt.

The rest of the story has an element of bathos, although naturally not in financial terms. Rockefeller was the best hated man in the country, much of the antagonism to him coming from the oil producers he had taken over. Miss Ida M. Tarbell to gentle, governess-looking lady with a glint in her eye, who came from the oil regions, where her father had been a minor producer, was the bravest with her history of the Standard Oil Company published in 1904. In Rockefeller's face she found "craftiness, cruelty and something indeclinably repulsive" and after further comment in the same vein ended her description: "It is the fullness of this unclean flesh which repels as the thin slit of a mouth terrifies." All this was written immediately after Rockefeller had suffered from an attack of alopecia which made him lose all his hair. His grandson, Nelson Rockefeller, may have felt that any press persecution he was in his turn was to suffer was trivial in comparison. The Trust was actually dissolved in 1911 after a seemingly endless series of legal battles. Rockefeller, who was finan-

cially accommodating to politicians, usually managed to avoid having to contribute to their campaign expenses. He made a disastrous exception in the case of Theodore Roosevelt, who pursued him as relentlessly as he in his turn had gobbled up the independent producers and refiners. Philanthropy on an unbridled and still unrisal scale was the only course left. The Rockefeller Foundation has changed the skyline of New York and perhaps done as much as lies with any individual family or group to improve the lot of man on earth.

This is not an ambition that those whom Mr. Beebe calls "The Big Spenders" would seem to have shared. Mr. Beebe was, in his lifetime, the most feared of the New York gossip-writers and he casts a malevolent eye from beyond the grave over a number of people who would have been his clients had he flourished in their heyday. As, like himself, they are dead, there is small fear of posthumous libel but the state, sickly aroma of *déjà vu* pervades these pages. *The Big Spenders* is, however, a misleading title because the book deals mainly with American citizens in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and without going back to ancient history there are in Europe many examples of expenditure on a far more lavish scale than here detailed. Mr. Nuhar Gulbenkian may not be greatly flattered to find himself included in these pages and, except for some minor eccentricities, he has done nothing to deserve this. Count Henri de Castellan, who, alone of all the characters mentioned in this book, did acquire highly enviable possessions, earns his place only because he did it with American money. Mr. Beebe's quoted sources are mainly books of gossip, and Thorstein Veblen, whose discovery of conspicuous expenditure is surely the inspiration of this work, does not even get a mention. Although there are plenty of anecdotes, there is really nothing new enough to arouse the enthusiasm of a May Day audience this side of the Iron Curtain. On the other hand, a Chinese edition might compete in popularity with the thoughts of Chairman Mao.

INDIAN QUEEN

SIR JOHN SMYTH: *The Rebellious Rani*. 223pp. Frederick Muller. 35s.

Sir John Smyth's reputation for elucidating military matters which in less skillful hands would pose dull or even boring is well deserved; this lively and interesting book will be read with pleasure by many who may well be attracted by the author rather than the subject. In relating the details of the campaign in central India which finally quenched the last embers of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58, the author has been able to bring into dramatic contrast the Indian "Queen" and the British General, each serving as a kind of embodiment of the opposing forces. They had two things in common: both the Rani of Jhansi and Sir Hugh Ross believed passionately in the justice of the causes for which they fought; both were endowed with military genius, the word is not too strong. The factor that finally tipped the scale against the Rani was that she was a woman; the prejudice against her sex hampered her at every turn. Not even her masterly grasp of the strategy and tactics needed to contain—or possibly to defeat—the equally brilliant Sir Hugh Ross, labouring as he was under fearful handicaps of climatic conditions, sufficed to ensure that her advice was followed and her plans executed by the officers and men on her own side. Her death in battle was the only thing that saved her from the humiliation of final defeat.

One difficulty of writing about the Rani of Jhansi and Sir John Smyth's predecessors have found themselves as much hampered as he is—that so little is known about her. We do

not know with any certainty the details of her family or of her upbringing; we do not know her age at the time when she played so great a part in the drama of history; we do not know when, if any responsibility rests upon her for the massacre of helpless men, women and children, numbering respectively thirty, sixteen and twenty, European and Eurasian, who lay at her mercy on June 7, 1857. We know only that she was a Maratha princess with all the force of character associated with the women of her race, who conceived the idea that the British were treating her with injustice as a flagrant that it imposed upon her the obligation of resistance to the death. The author has done his best with the material available to him: under his pen the Rani emerges as a human figure, and not either as a cruel fiend or as a disinterested patriot. Even so, she remains largely unknown.

Although the campaign itself and the engagements which enabled Sir Hugh Ross to bring it to a triumphant conclusion are related in masterly fashion, it is perhaps a pity that more care has not been taken to explain exactly what the grievance was which drove the Rani to desperation. The cancellation of the adoption executed without formal permission by the Rani's deceased husband turned out the fact that Jhansi State was quite a recent creation, subordinate to the Peshwa, and later to the British. It had no real roots in history, and little title to permanence. Somewhat naturally, the Rani could never grasp the point, and considered herself the victim of unwarrantable oppression.

WHIG LADY

MARGARET CROPPER and WILLIAM BARNES: *Mildred Buxton*. 168pp. Orlington Press. 25s.

Lady Buxton was one of those personalities who are influential in their generation with influence resting on character, and who are perhaps most difficult to portray for those who come afterwards. Miss Margaret Cropper and Mr. Barnes in their memoir have made a notable success of their undertaking largely by allowing their subject to speak for herself. Lady Buxton married Sydney Buxton—the Liberal Cabinet Minister and Governor-General of South Africa—as his second wife. Some of the best parts of the book are her letters from South Africa between 1914 and 1920. Politically she shows the independence of outlook of the true Whig and this becomes very marked with the decline of the Liberal Party after the first war. She disapproved of her husband's suc-

cessor in South Africa who was a royal personage; she wrote, "It makes people think a G. G. is only for show". She comments amusingly on the inter-war archbishops whom she saw at the marriage of the Princess Royal—"Randall Davidson entirely unconscious of being a prelate". 1922 was for her—and indeed for many another—the *annus mirabilis*. Lloyd George dethroned, Northcliffe dead, *The Times* in reputable hands, Butlery in prison and the Coalition broken up—I hope this unhappy country may look up a little. But alas! the evils which exasperated this shrewd and delightful partisan were not the creators of that deep-seated mischief in the state which she deplored; they were the symptoms.

IN SHINING ARMOUR

JOHN BROOK-LITTLE: *Knights of the Middle Ages*. Their Armour and Coats of Arms. Illustrated by Mollo. XII plates. High Evelyn. £4 4s.

Eight years ago Mr. Brook-Little, Blumville, was closely concerned with the production of the quarto *The Colour of Heraldry*, published by the Heraldry Society, in which Mr. Gerald Cobb reconstructed in coloured plates, partly from Stothard's drawings, the armorial effigies of a number of knights and ladies from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The book is still of great value for its accurate depiction of the development of armorial—provided the reader is on his guard against taking the plates as literal representations of lobs actually surviving. Mr. John Mollo, under Mr. Brook-Little's editorship in a folio volume, has now done the same kind of thing for a smaller number of knights (twelve in all), but on a grander scale and with enhanced magnificence of colour reproduction. At least as much attention is paid to the development of armorial as heraldic insignia, the evidence for both being in most cases brought together from different sources. That is to say, a blazon derived from a seal may be quite legitimately combined with details of armor preserved on a monument not of the actual bearer of the shield but of a contemporary. Some of the effigies, in consequence, seem a little too good to be true.

One of the most spectacular designs, that representing Sir Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, K.G., the Klagmarch, affords a good example of the method. The armorial is based on his equestrian seal, which is said to have been taken from his dead body on Barnet field, and is now in the British Museum. The shield at his feet, showing only the saltire of Neville (differenced), and the helmet with the griffin crest of Salisbury on which his bend rests, are from the same source. Over his armor the earl wears a tabard quartered seven of the most famous coats of post-feudal England: see these

are marshalled on the heraldic seal of which a single impression survives, from a document dated 1605, the height of its overweening authority than the even more elaborate banner shown in the Rows Roll. Whellier such a complex patchwork, back and sleeves, was ever worn in battle or tournament may be questioned, but it makes a splendid picture and there is no doubt that such designs were used for posthumous display. A good example is Cnut's well-known drawing of the Hammer-hasselt brass, though that is fifty years later in date than Warwick's.

OVER THIRTY

S. H. STEINBERG: *The "Thirty Years War" and the Conflict in the Hegemony 1600-1660*. 128pp. Edward Arnold. 16s. (Hb. 8s. 6d.)

Mr. Steinberg's short book in the Foundations of Modern History series is produced in the format of a textbook with small complicated maps and the index in minimal form. It belongs to the genre of "historical revisions" and is written in a somewhat controversial manner. No doubt considerable research has been done on the subject: since Miss Wedgwood and Georges Pagis wrote their books before the war, but it is not so readily dismissive to speak of Miss Wedgwood's "narrow sentimental German view." No one writing here in 1938 was sentimental about the Germans.

Briefly Mr. Steinberg's argument is this: The "Thirty Years War" is a misnomer like the "Wars of the Roses". The conflict was part of a larger European contest between the Great Powers. It was not primarily a religious war since at that time in Europe the French were

death. Indeed, Mr. Steinberg's argument seems to owe a great deal to the medieval brass which is monumental sculpture in dimensions. The commentary on Michael Foll, A. J. P. Taylor and Malcolm Muggeridge—improbably fighting against every chaos in politics or literature—we should have some faint idea of how Croker appeared to his opponents. "Wickedest of reviewers—with a malignant leer" (Harriet Martineau); "This ludicrous Irishman" (Mrs. Clarke the courtier); "I detect him more than cold, boiled veal" (Macaulay). Reading this admirably chosen selection from his journals and correspondence and the comments of Mr. Pool we are conscious of two reasons for the loathing which Croker aroused.

The cause of conservatism to which he is said to have invented the word was at the time both disliked and dreaded. In the 1840s a pre-emptive child voiced a feeling which was general when she said: "Prissy, Mamma, do tell me are the Tories wicked or do they become wicked afterwards?" Croker was not only a wicked Tory but he was regarded as a wicked man. He was wounded by Croker's notice of *Endymion* in the *Quarterly*, but in those days of anonymous reviewing he was not so much hurt. The other explanation for the dislike of Croker is that he was a man of letters, and the powers of an individual; the powers of Liberals for Joseph Chamberlain, of Conservatives for Lloyd George before 1914, and of the

WICKED TORY

The Croker Papers 1808-1857. Edited by Bernard Pool. 277pp. Batsford. £2 10s.

From the civilized 1960s we find it difficult to recapture the detestation and terror inspired a century and a half ago by the name of John Wilson Croker. If we could imagine a composite character, compounded of Michael Foll, A. J. P. Taylor and Malcolm Muggeridge—improbably fighting against every chaos in politics or literature—we should have some faint idea of how Croker appeared to his opponents. "Wickedest of reviewers—with a malignant leer" (Harriet Martineau); "This ludicrous Irishman" (Mrs. Clarke the courtier); "I detect him more than cold, boiled veal" (Macaulay). Reading this admirably chosen selection from his journals and correspondence and the comments of Mr. Pool we are conscious of two reasons for the loathing which Croker aroused.

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notion for the Kaiser are in point. Macaulay's aphorism tells us that his uncle's disapprobation of "Croker was 'beyond control' and 'beyond measure', and he goes on to say that his uncle's opinion was confirmed by the public identification of Croker with Rigby in *Coningsby*. Robert Blake, in his life of Disraeli, remarks that in fact there is no likeness at all between the two men. That is certainly the case.

There does not appear in his published diaries and letters anything to justify this detestation by most of his contemporaries except that with more fervour and more passion he would have echoed Melbourne—"Why not leave it alone?" Some of his papers were originally published some eighty years ago; they were edited by Louis Jennings, who was associated with *The Times* and was a Conservative member of Parliament. From the frontispiece to those three volumes (which depicted Croker as a kindlier Canning) to the last page there is concentrated political comment and political information from the inside, all of which is of the first importance. Jennings had, as he says, to deal with a vast jumble of papers—tax-receipts, begging letters and social trifles. He extracted what he thought made an unsurpassed contribution to the history of our times" but rather surprisingly decided that there was insufficient for a formal biography. The original manuscripts are now in the United States.

The memoirs edited by Jennings have long been out of print and Mr. Pool, who shared with Croker a working life in the Admiralty, has produced a workmanlike compression of the text into a single volume. Possibly it only amounts to about one-sixth of the original edition, which was printed in very close type, but what is essential is all there. Naturally some decidedly enjoyable gossip

bas had to go, and we shall have to turn to Jennings for the rather serious explanation of Peel's conversion to Free Trade in 1846, which Croker explains as a long-meditated move to spite the Whigs and inspired in part by fear of the Corn Law League. Such omissions were dictated by space, and Mr. Pool's selection runs without "joints"; indeed he has improved on Jennings by including the letters in their chronological place in the diary instead of lumping them together at the end of each section.

In the letter which marks the close of Croker's long friendship with Peel he closes "Very sincerely and affectionately yours, Up to the glim, J. W. Croker". Supposing that is correct—and Jennings abounds in mis-readings—it is not easy to say exactly what Croker had in mind. The words presumably represent the extreme Tory point of view about the fusion of church and state (N.E.D.), however, gives a seventeenth-century precedent for the phrase in the ending of a letter. In an earlier passage Croker writes to Southey and says: "Do you remember my once saying to you that Westminster Abbey was part of the British Constitution? I do not mean the mere political connexion of Church and State; but that mixture of veneration and love of antiquity and good taste of public library and self-control of pride of our ancestors and hopes for our posterity, which affects every patriot and Christian mind at the contemplation of that glorious system which unites in such beautiful association and such profitable combination our civil and ecclesiastical institutions, our ambition and our faith."

"Glibbert" would cry in unison the House of Commons and the Church Assembly. Croker's point of view is far removed from the 1960s but those are matters which those who profess to understand the politics of the nineteenth century can only neglect at their peril.

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Applications are invited for the part-time post of Librarian to the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions. The post is envisaged as particularly suitable for a married woman. The Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (established 1904) is the professional organisation of teachers in all branches of the further education system. It has a membership of 25,000.

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The Association has not previously employed a professional Librarian. The present Librarian is an unqualified working collection forming part of the information department of the Association. It is intended to establish the library on a formal basis in order to provide a full-scale library and information service to members. The post offers the interesting and seldom encountered professional experience of inaugurating a library service.

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Hours of Day. Three days a week, or equivalent. Normal office hours are 9.15-4.45 Monday to Friday.

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Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of RESEARCH ASSISTANT in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, by 25th April 1967.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, by 25th April 1967.

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LIBRARIANS

CITY OF ROCHESTER
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, City of Rochester, by 25th April 1967.

TOWN OF TASMANIA
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, Town of Tasmania, by 25th April 1967.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF SOUTHEND-ON-SEA
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, Southend-on-Sea, by 25th April 1967.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE RHODES
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, University College Rhodes, by 25th April 1967.

WEST SUSSEX COUNTY COUNCIL
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, West Sussex County Council, by 25th April 1967.

THE CHURCH OF THE ANGELS
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, The Church of the Angels, by 25th April 1967.

SUTHERLAND EDUCATION COMMITTEE
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, Sutherland Education Committee, by 25th April 1967.

QUEEN MARY COLLEGE
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, Queen Mary College, by 25th April 1967.

OTHER VACANT APPOINTMENTS
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, by 25th April 1967.

LONDON BOROUGH OF TOWER HAMLET
LIBRARIAN
APPOINTMENTS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, London Borough of Tower Hamlet, by 25th April 1967.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND
RESEARCH ASSISTANTS
Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of RESEARCH ASSISTANT in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, by 25th April 1967.

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Assistant Librarian required by I.C.T. Stevenage

A female Assistant Librarian, aged between 23 and 30, is required for our Technical Library and Information Service at Stevenage. Applicants should have passed scientific or technical subjects at G.C.E. 'A' or 'O' Level, and have a knowledge of, or experience in, cataloguing and classification by N.D.C. Some experience in the administration of the day-to-day working of a small library would also be highly desirable.

Applications to: Area Personnel Office, International Computers and Tabulators Limited, I.C.T. House, Broadway, Letchworth, Hertfordshire.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE
Applications for the post of Assistant Librarian in the Royal Society of Medicine Library. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, Royal Society of Medicine, by 25th April 1967.

MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY SACKVILLE, NEW BRUNSWICK CANADA

HEAD of Public Services for library of liberal arts university. Position includes supervision of reference, circulation and Serials. Excellent opportunity to obtain administrative experience. Now library in preliminary planning stage. Applications are invited from chartered librarians with degree. Salary open, depending on qualifications and experience. 4 weeks' holidays, medical and pension schemes, fine arts and music facilities available.

Apply to: Chief Librarian, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada.

ASSISTANT ARCHIVIST
Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of ASSISTANT ARCHIVIST in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, by 25th April 1967.

CITY OF PETERBOROUGH

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of LIBRARIAN in the County Library Service. The post is a full-time position with a salary of £1,200 per annum. The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the County Library Service and will be required to have a minimum of five years' experience in a similar post. Applications should be sent to the County Clerk, City of Peterborough, by 25th April 1967.

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